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ABSTRACT

Individual teachers with access to information of importance to administrators--either through expertise or through occupation of a central position-- can exert power over administrators and influence their actions, according to a recent study. The researchers developed a model of subordinate power over superordinates, generated two hypotheses from the model, and tested the hypotheses in three high schools in the greater San Jose (California) area. The Dependency Network Questionnaire was distributed to all credentialled faculty members to identify those school personnel on whom they depended. The Resource Access and Sense of Power Questionnaire was then completed at each school by the six teachers most depended on by administrators and by six others. Interviews conducted with a few administrators, powerful teachers, and nonpowerful teachers corroborated the data. Both hypotheses were upheld: that powerful teachers have greater access to persons, information, and material resources; and that the strategies powerful teachers use to influence administrators are different from those nonpowerful teachers use. The study also found correlations between a teacher's power and his or her position as department chairperson and membership on committees and found that teachers tend to reach their maximum level of power within 3 years of joining a school's faculty. (Author/PGD)

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# Subordinate Teacher Power and Influence in Schools

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This paper reports a study of power and influence of individual teachers over their superordinates in school organizations. The purpose of this study is to advance and test a theory of individual teacher power. To develop the theory, a model of individual teacher power and influence is introduced which incorporates existing theory on power and influence. To test the theory, hypotheses predicted by the model are introduced and tested. These hypotheses examine the network of power relationships in schools.

If the theory is supported, then principals and other school administrators may use it to observe how particular teachers become powerful and how these subordinates choose to exercise their power over superordinates. Through this observation, administrators may become better equipped to understand and respond to the network of power relationships in their own settings.

Organizational power generally has been viewed from a top-down perspective rather than a bottom-up one. Rather than taking this traditional top-down approach where stress is on the power of principals over teachers (Warren, 1968), a less traditional bottom-up approach is taken suggesting that people continually alternate the roles of power holder and power subject during their interactions with other people in the organization (Blau, 1964; Katz and Kahn, 1966; Wrong, 1968; Hall, 1977). This latter approach suggests that power may be earned and wielded by teacher over principals and other administrators.

Moreover, a different bottom-up view of power is adopted. While most literature on teacher power has focused on teachers' collective power as demonstrated in unions, strikes, and collective bargaining (McDonnell and Pascal, 1979), this research focuses on individual teacher power. So, while

previous work provides aid to school administrators about their own power and collective teacher power, it provides no clear guidelines for dealing with the power of the individual teacher over school administrators. This study along with its proposed model will fill this gap by providing guidelines for administrators.

## Model of Teacher Power and Influence

In order to focus on the relatively unexplored areas of the bottom-up and the individual power of teachers, a model is presented in Figure 1. This model incorporates the theoretical ideas of various authors regarding the power and influence of the subordinate and applies these ideas to the individual teacher. Throughout the model the teacher is treated as the subordinate and the administrator as the superordinate.

The model incorporates the conceptual distinction between power and influence.[2] Power involves a potential (Blau, 1964), an ability (Bierstedt, 1950), or a capacity (Katz and Kahn, 1966) to change the behavior of others, but not the actual exercise of that potential, ability, or capacity (also see Zald, 1970; Bell, 1972; Hicks and Gullet, 1975; Silk, 1976). While power is conceived as a potential to change the behavior of another person, influence is the actual exercise of that earned potential. Various scholars (Spady, 1974; Schlechty, 1976) have referred to influence as active power or force. In this sense, influence can be thought of as kinetic power, just as power can be thought of as potential influence (French and Raven, 1960).

Power (1.0) is shown on the left of the model and influence (2.0) is on the right side of the model. This distinction defines power as the teacher's ability to change the behavior of the administrator. The influence of the teacher only occurs when he/she actually exercises this ability to change

the administrator's behavior. In this way, power and influence are viewed as being interrelated since a teacher cannot influence an administrator unless this teacher has power over the administrator.

Two of the components necessary for power are shown in the left hand portion of the model. First, the teacher has access to various resources (1.1). These resources are of three kinds. One kind is other persons who can provide needed services to the organization. A second kind is information which refers to knowledge of the organization, knowledge of norms, procedures, techniques, etc. The third kind is material resources which include any part of the physical plant, such as property, equipment, machinery, or finances. These resources can be thought of as constituting the teacher's source of power (Bierstedt, 1950; Mechanic, 1962).

The second component is that power resides in the dependency of one person on another (Thibaut and Kelly, 1959; Emerson, 1962). As the teacher uses his/her resources, the administrator becomes dependent on him/her for these said resources (1.2). Once the administrator becomes dependent on the teacher, this teacher can be said to have power over the administrator.

Influence, described earlier as the actual exercise of power, is displayed in the right side of the model. A subordinate may influence administrative decision-making by affecting a superordinate's goals (Bridges, 1970). Administrators oftentimes rely on the information and the expertise of those people below them in the organization before they make decisions. Bridges (1970) points out that a subordinate may be able to influence a superordinate's decision by pushing his/her goals and desires on a superordinate. Moreover, a subordinate can withhold needed services or even supply them to someone else if a superordinate does not reciprocate in some way (Blau, 1964). Likewise, a subordinate may attempt to exercise

pressure from below for new rules which are meant to limit the power of a superordinate (Crozier, 1964). These subordinate actions may well be employed as a way of getting as much cooperation from a superordinate as possible while also forcing him/her to support the overt rules of the organization.

The model represents this notion that the teacher can influence the administrator. First, the subordinate and the superordinate must engage in some sort of mutual or reciprocal communication (2.1). In other words, the two must talk and interact with one another. Second, as these exchanges occur, the teacher uses various strategies to force the administrator into some form of repayment for the provided resources and/or services (2.2).

Theoretical Hypotheses

From the proposed model, two hypotheses are generated. The first hypothesis focuses on the subordinate teacher's power and its source. The second hypothesis deals with the actual exercise of power, or the influence, of the subordinate teacher. The symbols, $H_1$ and $H_2$ for each hypothesis, are included in the model so as to specifically point out where each hypothesis fits.

> Hypothesis 1: The subordinate teacher who has access to resources is depended on more by superordinate administrators and, hence, is more powerful than the subordinate teacher who has little or no access to resources.

The first hypothesis ties together the dependence-building resources, or the source of the teacher's power, with the dependency of administrators which can accrue from these resources. This level of dependency is what

defines the teacher's power over the administrator.

Hypothesis 2: The powerful subordinate teacher uses different strategies to influence superordinate administrators and is influential in different areas of the school than the non-powerful subordinate teacher.

This second hypothesis binds together the notions of power and influence by exploring how the powerful teacher is able to influence administrators in different ways and areas than the non-powerful teacher. The various strategies that the powerful teacher uses in forcing administrators to reciprocate are of central importance in testing this hypothesis. In addition, this hypothesis explores the content of this influence, namely the areas of the school over which the powerful teacher has some influence.

## Methodology

### Instruments

Questionnaires. The first questionnaire is referred to as the Dependency Network Questionnaire because it was designed, using a checklist format, to identify school personnel who are depended on. The questionnaire also gathered background information about the respondents, such as the number of years they had taught in their present location and the number of committees on which they served. These background data were used for matching purposes in determining those powerful and non-powerful teachers who were to receive Questionnaire II. In addition, these background data were useful for examining some of the characteristics of powerful teachers.

A check of the content validity of the questionnaire was done before

it was administered by having several teachers and researchers judge if the questions were actually measuring the required content. This procedure follows that suggested by Bloom et al. (1971). A check on the concurrent validity also was performed. The responses to the questionnaire by credentialled staff members who did not take part in the interviews were compared with the responses of interviewees concerning who in general is depended upon in the school. This is a way of allowing two groups of people, each using a separate instrument, to answer the same question about who is depended on in the school. This check indicated that both instruments reveal the same teachers as being the ones depended on in the school.

Because of the format of Questionnaire I, a reliability coefficient could not be calculated; however, the consistency of a person's responses on the quesionnaire was checked during the interview with that same person. This was accomplished by cross-checking questionnaire responses with interview responses. In this way, two separate measures (one written and one verbal) of whom people depend upon were gathered from the same person. Interviewees did indicate that they depend on the same teachers they had indicated in the questionnaire, thereby demonstrating a consistency between their written and verbal responses.

Questionnaire II is called the Resource Access and Sense of Power Questionnaire because it was meant to uncover the resources powerful and non-powerful teachers have access to and the self-perceived power of these same teachers. The resource access portion of the questionnaire asked teachers to rate themselves on 14 Likert-type items using a five point scale.[3] Five of the 14 items dealt with persons, five with information, and four with material resources. The sense of power section of the questionnaire is the same Sense of Power Scale used by Moeller and Charters (1966) which,

using Guttman Scale Analysis, has produced a coefficient of reliability of .93. This section asked teachers to use a five point scale when responding to six Likert-type items dealing with their self-perceived sense of power in the school.[4]

The content validity of this second questionnaire was checked prior to its use by having teachers judge the accuracy of the content. Concurrent validity was not able to be determine since no other instruments were available which measure either teacher's resource access or sense of power.

The reliability of each of the two sections of the questionnaire was determined using an odd-even measure of the internal consistency of the items as suggested by Edwards (1957). Because this odd-even procedure produces a coefficient representing only half the questionnaire, the correlations were stepped-up using the Spearman-Brown Prophecy Formula (Thorndike, 1971). The resulting reliability coefficients are +.90 for the resource access section and +.68 for the sense of power section; this indicates a fairly high degree of internal consistency among the items in each portion of the questionnaire.

Interviews. These were conducted with administrators and powerful and non-powerful teachers to gather qualitative information about the teachers who are depended upon, the resources they have access to, the processes they use to become powerful, and how they exercise their power. Interviews were split into two parts. First, both administrators and teachers were asked a series of general questions about dependency, power, and influence in their school. In the second part of the interview, administrators were asked specific questions about who they depend on, the reasons they depend on certain teachers, which teachers are influential, and what influential tea-

chers do to exercise their power over them. When powerful and non-powerful teachers were interviewed they were asked specific questions about whether they were depended on by others (especially administrators), whether they were influential in the school, and the ways they were able to influence administrators.

## Sample

The study was conducted in three four-year high schools (grades 9-12) in the greater San Jose, California area. These schools are referred to as Schools A, B, and C. School A has 1800 students and is served by 84 credentialled staff members (administrators, teachers, and support personnel--counselors, nurse, etc.). School B has approximately 3400 students with 152 credentialled staff members. School C has a student population of 1600 with a credentialled staff of 88 people. These staff members are the ones who participated in the study.

## Procedure

Questionnaire I was distributed to the entire credentialled faculty of the school. Questionnaires were completed and returned by mail. A follow-up procedure was instituted which produced a 71% return from School A, an 84% return from School B, and a 92% return from School C.

Although the major thrust of Questionnaire I was to determine which subordinate teachers were depended on by superordinate administrators, they were distributed to the entire faculty. Because some administrators might have been reluctant to admit that they depend on various teachers, it was important to get additional responses from other staff members to verify the choices made by administrators. There were suggestions of this reluctance, especially at School A, where two of the three administrators

indicated that they only depended on other administrators. In others words, additional evidence that certain teachers were more powerful with respect to administrators was obtained by asking their colleagues to confirm who were the powerful teachers in the school.

Questionnaire II was then distributed to 12 teachers in each school based on administrators' responses to the first questionnaire as confirmed by other staff members. Six teachers who were depended on by the most number of administrators (powerful group) were matched with six teachers who were not generally depended on by administrators (non-powerful group). To help select these 12 teachers, two additional criteria were used. First, as noted above, administrators' responses were confirmed using teachers' responses. Any teacher selected for the powerful group also was depended on by a large number of other staff members while any teacher selected for the non-powerful group was depended on by few staff members (see Table 1). Second, teachers from each group were matched on the number of years they had taught in the school so that dependency would not be a function of the length of time that a teacher had been able to establish his/her dependency network. Questionnaires were completed and returned by mail. A follow-up procedure produced return rates of 83%, 92%, and 100% from Schools A, B, and C respectively.

Finally, interviews were conducted with seven faculty members from School A, six from School B, and eight from School C. In each school the principal was interviewed to determine who he depended on and how influential those teachers were. In addition, powerful and non-powerful teachers who had returned Questionnaire II were interviewed to examine how they percieved their place in the school's power structure. All interviews were tape recorded and transcribed to facilitate analyses.

## Results

The data collected support the two major hypotheses predicted by the model.[5] In addition, ancillary findings provide information which is useful for understanding the power and influence of individual teachers in schools.

### Central Findings

Hypothesis 1: The subordinate teacher who has access to resources is depended on more by superordinate administrators and, hence, is more powerful than the subordinate teacher who has little or no access to resources.

To test Hypothesis 1, quantitative results from Questionnaires I and II and qualitative data from the interviews are used. Data from Questionnaire I identify the network of dependencies on powerful and non-powerful teachers. Questionnaire II data suggest differences in the resource access of powerful and non-powerful teachers. Qualitative information from the interviews examines the differences in resource access between these two groups of teachers.

Data collected from Questionnaire I is analysed using "network analysis" which attempts to determine the pattern of social relations over a set of persons, positions, groups, or organizations (White et al., 1968; Boorman and White, 1976). This method has become particularly useful in examining the interpersonal relations between network members by focusing on such areas as the direction of flow of information and authority, the content of this information, and the degree of interaction among network members (Mitchell, 1969; Blake, 1979). In this study, a separate network of depen-

dencies is determined for each person in the school for the resource areas of persons, information, and material resources. These networks, therefore, are a way of representing the actual organization of interpersonal relations in the school for each of these three resource areas (Holland and Leinhardt, 1973).

Using this networking notion, a subset of powerful and non-powerful teachers is identified with data collected from Questionnaire I. Table 1 summarizes the subset of powerful teachers (group 1) and non-powerful teachers (group 2) by listing the mean number of administrators and other school staff who depend on the two groups of teachers for their access to persons, information, and material resources. The table also shows another of the matching criteria for teachers, namely the average number of years teachers from each group have taught in the school. The table clearly indicates that the two groups differ by administrator dependency within each school. Likewise, teacher dependencies confirm the data from administrators since group 1 teachers are always more heavily depended on by their peers than group 2 teachers. It is interesting to note that of the three resource areas, more administrators and teachers rely on the information that a powerful teacher has.

Data from the resource access portion of Questionnaire II are summarized in Tables 2 and 3. Table 2 shows that resource access is greater for powerful teachers than for non-powerful teachers. The lower the score the greater the resource access. The matched t-values calculated for each school and all three schools combined indicate that powerful teachers have a significantly greater <u>overall</u> access to resources than non-powerful teachers. These two groups of teachers also are compared in terms of their subscores for each resource area (persons, information, material resources)

as represented in Table 3. The results of Table 3 indicate that powerful teachers feel they have significantly greater access to each resource area than non-powerful teachers.

The interview data confirm that powerful teachers do, in fact, have greater access to resources than non-powerful teachers. Nineteen of the 21 interviewees (90%), when explaining why a certain teacher is depended on, specifically mention the teacher's knowledge, information access, material resource access, etc. Illustrations are found in the following excerpts:

> "... Basically, I think people in the school system seek out an individual because they have a certain need. That particular individual can supply the information or fulfill the need."

> "Their [depended on teachers] job is to supply us with materials and make sure materials are available to us."

> "I'm finding it [being depended on] depends on the information people are after... Who people go to depends on what they want to know as much as department, or title, or something else."

Hypothesis 2: The powerful subordinate teacher uses different strategies to influence superordinate administrators and is influential in different areas of the school than the non-powerful subordinate teacher.

This second hypothesis is tested using the results from the second portion of Questionnaire II and the interviews. Questionnaire II data determine the differences in the perceived sense of power of powerful and non-powerful teachers. Interviews uncover the sense of power, the areas, and the ways in which certain teachers are able to influence administrators.

The data from the sense of power portion of Questionnaire II are presented in Table 4. Results indicate that powerful teachers see themselves as having more influence in the affairs of the school than the non-powerful teachers. The matched t-values indicating teachers' sense of power are statistically significant for Schools A, B, and all three schools combined, but not for School C. Qualitative data from the interviews supports the notion that powerful teachers do, in fact, have a greater sense of power than nonpowerful teachers, especially when it comes to influencing administrators. All 10 of the powerful teachers interviewed indicate they are influential in what occurs in upper levels of the organization. The seven non-powerful teachers do not admit to having any influence over administrators.

Interviews also reveal the content areas in which powerful and even non-powerful teachers feel they are influential. Powerful teachers appear to be the ones whose suggestions are more likely to be listened to and acted upon by administrators. This influence of powerful teachers seems to affect both the policies and procedures of the department in which a teacher teaches, as well as what goes on in the school as a whole. These policies and procedures include decisions about the teachers' class assignments, the policies governing student conduct and discipline, and the policies regarding student activities. The following are some examples of the areas of influence mentioned by three different powerful teachers:

> "[My influence is] in regards to curriculum, any changes in courses, programs coming in, anything new, any new reproduction services that would take place, any new audiovisual equipment we purchases for the school. What I would recommend or what I would say we don't need... would have an influence in all departments."

"I've influenced the principal in his thinking of staff allocations, for support personnel for our area, including an instructional aide. I've convinced him that I need people here, in the back room to work with storage, equipment, and preparation where he didn't believe it was necessary to have that."

"I think I have influence [in] school activities that are going on. An example was the kids wanted to have a rally and it was cancelled. They came to me to ask me if I could get it reinstated. And I did. I explained to them how to do it, and they went through the proper channels and did it."

The non-powerful group of teachers also seem to have some influence; however, they do not have nearly the range of influence as powerful teachers. The areas of influence of non-powerful teachers appear to fall mostly within their departments and do not include any influence over administrators. For clarification of this point, illustrations are given by two non-powerful teachers concerning where they feel they are influential:

"What affects this classroom I do [have influence], but not really on the outside. Special Ed is so open, nobody comes in and says, 'You have to teach this, you have to teach that.' I can do whatever I want."

"No, very little [influence]. The only time that I participate in the activities of this department is in coordinating a little bit with the teacher of the Early Learning Guidance class."

The way in which powerful teachers try to influence administrators also can be determined from the interviews. The major strategy powerful teachers use is to be persistent or to press an issue until it is resolved. These teachers appear to be willing to stick their necks on the line and fight for what they believe is right either for their department or for the school in general. This straightforward approach is mentioned by 11 of the 21 interviewees (52%) who use such terms as "outspoken," "persistent," and "aggressive" when describing the way powerful teachers are influential. This strategy of persistence appears to take place either in group activities, such as faculty meetings, or in one-to-one interactions with the principal or other administrators. The following quotations from three different teachers illustrate this notion of persistence:

> "Because they are more outspoken at meetings... Sometimes there has to be bargaining. As a rule, if I'm persistent enough, and with good reason, they [administrators] act."

> "I don't necessarily tell people what they want to hear. I don't deliberately make waves, but if I'm upset...like today was a perfect example. I went directly to the principal and I said, 'This is going on and I need your help.' And he did. He went right to the teacher with me."

> "I think they have enough self-confidence to go talk to the principal. Or they see a problem happening and they're willing to go up and talk about it."

Ancillary Findings

In testing the first hypothesis, it is discovered that powerful teachers are greatly depended on for their access to persons, information, and material resources. One of the results which repeatedly appears in testing Hypothesis 1 and examining the dependency networks is that powerful teachers are depended on more for their access to information than for their access to persons or material resources. In order to further investigate this result, further analyses are reported.

To determine various characteristics of the network of those teachers being depended on for information, various links (the interactions between two people) are examined. This examination reveals three areas of importance: (1) the position a teacher has as department chairperson, (2) the position a teacher has as to the number of committees on which he/she serves, and (3) the length of time a teacher has taught in the school.

Department chairpersons. Teachers who are in positions of responsibility within their departments might be expected to have information which is not available to others in the school. In other words, the flow of information in the school might be toward department chairpersons. In order to determine if this is true, the network of dependencies between department chairpersons and other teachers are compared. These comparisons are reported for each school in Table 5 which lists the average number of administrators and subordinates who depend on department chairpersons and other teachers for their access to persons, information, and material resources.

Table 5 indicates that, on the average, department chairpersons are depended on by more administrators and subordinates than are other teachers in all three resource areas. Only in School A does this trend for adminis-

trators not hold up because, in general, administrators from this school do not admit to being dependent on teachers. Along the same lines, of the 21 interviees, ten (or 48%) volunteer that department chairpersons are the most depended on teachers in the school.

It is evident from Table 5 that these department chairpersons are especially depended upon when it comes to having information. Qualitative data collected from the interviews support this finding. Department chairpersons' power resides in their central location in the school organization; they are depended on by other teachers in their department for information on procedures, curriculum, teaching methods, etc. Likewise, they are relied on by administrators to supply information on what is going on in their departments and to take information from administrators back to their departments. In this way, department chairpersons are a direct link in the flow of information to administrators as well as from administrators. The following quotes from teachers and principals illustrate the central position of the department chairperson:

> (Teacher speaking): "Their [department chairpersons] purpose is to supply us with materials and make sure materials are available to us. They are supposed to have a free period to work with teachers, if they have problems with discipline or any other type of problem. Basically, just trying to solve problems for us."
>
> (Principal speaking): "I deal with ten per cent of the staff most of the time. They have my ear and I'm just going to have more input from them... These are the Instructional Team Leaders [department chairpersons]. They tend to be that ten per cent because I know them well."

(Principal speaking): "We tend to rely on them [department chairpersons] for information more and tend to keep them better informed. We can't always meet with large groups. We try to meet with department chairpeople twice a month regularly for at least an hour. We use them, quite frankly, as our pipeline of communication. We ask them to live up to their job descriptions, to help us make decisions."

Further investigation reveals that the size of the department has no relation to whether a chairperson is depended upon for information. While the English, Math, Social Science, Physical Education, and Science departments are generally the largest in terms of full and part time staff, correlations between the size of the department and the degree to which a chairperson is depended upon are -.02, +.02, and +.26 (none significant at .10 level) for Schools A, B, and C respectively.

Moreover, chairpersons from the Library, Social Science and English departments are consistently the most heavily relied upon for information. In fact, the librarians from Schools B and C are ranked as the top depended on chairpersons. Regardless of which chairperson is the most heavily relied upon in each school, results indicate that close to 50% of the credentialled faculty depend on that person for information.

Committee membership. In addition to teachers who are department chairpersons, those teachers who serve on committees might be expected to be in a position to gather and distribute information which is not available to others in the school. In order to investigate this idea, the average number of committees served on is compared between teachers who are depended on by administrators for persons, information, and/or material resources and teachers who are not depended on by administrators

for these same resources.

Table 6 reports this comparison separately for the three schools. The table indicates that teachers who are depended on by administrators, on the average, serve on more committees than teachers who are not depended on by administrators. This is true for all schools in all three resource areas except in School A where no administrators indicate they depend on teachers for material resources.

This notion is confirmed from interview data. Five different interviewees volunteered the fact that being on a committee is a vital way of obtaining information upon which others depend. Following are three illustrations given by teachers of how being a committee member is important to being depended on:

> "I also participate in a lot of committees. I volunteer. So I seem to be pretty much on top of what's going on in the school."

> "They [depended on teachers] seem to participate in more committees. They make sure they communicate their feelings, express their desires with administration."

> "If you want to become a member of the Faculty Club, Faculty Club officer, or if you want to be influential in the administration, then these are certainly the roles you could take [to become depended on]."

Length of school service. Qualitative and quantitative data do not support the idea that those teachers who have taught the longest are necessarily the most depended on for information. However, the data suggest that by their third year in a school, teachers are depended on as much

as they ever will be in that school. The qualitative data from the interviews suggest why this might occur. Certain new teachers entering a school have certain skills and information to which others in the school may have never before been exposed. As these new teachers are identified, they are sought out by others who might benefit from this new information. This seems to be particularly true at School C for those new teachers entering as specialists in Special Education. The following quote from a Special Education teacher from School C is especially informative because it illustrates this notion that new teachers with a background in Special Education can sometimes be the ones with the new ideas others might want. This teacher talks in terms of the prior experiences teachers may have as these provide them with information which is valuable to older, more established teachers in the school:

> "The teachers who have taught here a very long time came out of college in the late '50's and early '60's. They were geared to teach to a certain population which isn't here any more... So the new teachers are being asked what their experience is with other cultures. How do you teach when you teach low socioeconomic levels? How do you deal with bilingual students? How much experience do you have with the Chicano community?...

## Discussion

The results of this study have verified the proposed model of subordinate teacher power and influence; there are a few key teachers who are powerful and influential over administrators. These teachers have access to various school resources upon which administrators come to depend.

Credibility is then built up in these teachers because they have the needed expertise, knowledge, or materials to resolve certain issues. This verifies the notion that subordinates gain power over superordinates as they are able to help superordinates solve their problem (Blau, 1964, 1974). Moreover, powerful teachers seem to have the greatest impact, or influence, over administrators' decisions. Rather than withhold their resources from administrators, powerful teachers tend to be quite persistent with administrators when an issue needs to be resolved. These teachers appear to have found that a bold, straightforward approach works best with administrators.

Of particular interest is the recurring theme that information is the most potent resource over which powerful teachers have access, thus verifying the theoretical notion that any subordinate having needed expertise is likely to become powerful over a superordinate (Hall, 1977). Those teachers who are "gatekeepers" or "brokers" of information are apt to become powerful. This information can be about how to gets things accomplished, about whom to see to solve a particular problem, about what curriculum and classroom materials are available, etc. Other studies have suggested that principals also use information as a resource when exercising their influence over superordinates (Mowday, 1978). This suggests that access to information is extremely important when attempting to exercise power at many levels of the school organization.

Additional factors which explain how teachers become powerful and influential are illuminated by the findings. Department chairpersons, committee members, or teachers who have specialized skills stand a good chance of gaining power. Once again, their power base is the information they possess. Department chairpersons and committee members are in a

central position because they have access to information which others, especially administrators, do not have. This substantiates the conceptualization that any subordinate able to gain a central position in the organization is apt to become powerful over a superordinate (Hall, 1977 Marsden, 1977). In some cases, it appears that administrators have purposely organized communication lines such that department chairpersons are central to the distribution of information throughout the organization.

These results appear to clarify some of Mechanic's (1962) notions of subordinate power while contradicting others. On one hand, these data suggest that for a subordinate teacher access to information is a key component to becoming powerful. Access to persons and material resources are not as important in building administrators' dependencies. On the other hand, these findings suggest that the school organization determines the flow of information by virtue of the role, or position, which a teacher has. This supports the centralization theme (Hall, 1977; Marsden, 1977) more than the idea that the subordinate's personality determines access to information (Mechanic, 1962). This is not to suggest that position alone determines power since there are individual teachers who are not department chairpersons or committee members, but who are still powerful and influential; however, the general trend is for position to determine information flow and access.

Certain limitations of the study must be accounted for when interpreting these results. First, because only three high schools were used, generalization becomes difficult. While there are consistencies between schools, this may have resulted from their geographical proximity. Moreover, the type of schools sampled may have affected the finding that the organization is influential in determining the flow of information rather than the

individual teacher. A study of elementary schools, for example, might create a much different picture of teacher power.

Second, the small number of superordinate administrators in each school can make the selection of powerful and non-powerful teachers difficult. In this study teachers' responses are used to help confirm administrators' choices. Schools where administrators are reluctant to admit that they depend on teachers (as is somewhat the case in School A) would make the determination of of powerful and non-powerful teacher nearly impossible. Expanding the sample to include additional schools might not solve this problem since most schools operate with few administrators. In fact, large high schools might be the best place to study bottom-up teacher power because more administrators operate in these schools than in smaller high schools or elementary schools.

Third, due to the methodology used little is discovered about the stability of power or the motives of teachers as they accrue and use power. Because the study was conducted during one school year, there is no evidence to suggest how the balance of power may shift from year to year to different teachers. A longitudinal design could focus on this dimension by examining teachers in a school over a period of years and/or by following powerful teachers as they move between schools. While there is some indication that powerful teachers might be ambitious and resourceful, a study which follows certain key teachers might uncover the reasons why these teachers choose to become powerful forces in the operation of the school.

While the basic framework of the model has been substantiated, expanding the sample and incorporating additional methodologies may provide needed verification and elucidation of these findings. While we now have

some idea as to how high schools function, junior high and elementary schools should be included to gain a more complete picture of how individual teacher power operates at all levels of school. For example, while these results suggest that powerful teachers are influential, little is discovered about whether the same teachers remain powerful throughout their years at a particular school. Also, nothing can be said about the specific conditions under which a powerful teacher chooses not to exert influence over an administrator. A more in-depth case study of powerful teachers may expose the necessary ingredients for power to be acted out. In addition, the different positions or locations in the school organization which allow teachers the opportunity to become gatekeepers of information need to be examined further before this could be fully incorporated into the model. Finally, future research might begin to explore the particular types of information, skills, and/or expertise which are highly valued at different levels of school.

FOOTNOTES

[1] I am grateful to James Block, Noah Friedkin, and Steven Bossert for their helpful comments and suggestions as this research was conceptualized, conducted, and analysed.

[2] The concept of authority differs slightly from the expressed notions of power and influence as they refer to subordinates over superordinates. Authority may be conceived as being institutionalized power since it is granted to people by virtue of their roles or hierarchical positions in the organization. This gives people the established right to pronounce judgments and to settle controversies entitled by the customs, rules, and laws of the organization. Therefore, authority, by reason of its hierarchical position, cannot be held by a subordinate over a superordinate and is not specifically included in the model. (For further clarification of these concepts, see Bierstedt, 1950; Bertrand, 1972; Silk, 1976.)

[3] The five point scale for the resource access portion of Questionnaire II ranges from "much more often than other teachers" to "much less often than other teachers." The 14 statements are as follows:

1. I come in contact with other teachers here at school.
2. I am asked how to get things done around school.
3. Other teachers ask to borrow my teaching materials.
4. I have contact with influential people in the community (e.g., community officials).
5. Other teachers ask my advice on ways to teach or discipline students.
6. I have been asked to help raise money for additional school equipment

and supplies.

7. I have been ased to recommend new teachers to teach here.
8. I attend School Board meetings.
9. I have developed my own teaching materials
10. I join community organizations and clubs.
11. The principal comes to me for advice on school matters.
12. I make friends here at school.
13. I serve on committees here at school.
14. People come to me when they need school materials (e.g., audiovisual materials, sports equipment, lab materials).

[4] The five point scale for the sense of power section of Questionnaire II ranges from "strongly agree to "strongly disagree." The six statements are as follows:

1. I believe I have some control over what textbooks will be used in the classrooms
2. I feel I do not know what is going on in the upper levels of the administration.
3. I never have a chance to work on school committees which make important decisions for the school.
4. I consider that I have little to say over what teachers will work with me on my job.
5. I usually can find ways to get system-wide policies changed if I feel strongly enough about them.
6. I feel I have little to say about important system-wide policies relating to teaching.

[5] The results reported here examine common trends found across the three high schools. Future analyses will treat each of the schools separately, thus allowing an examination of any variance within and between schools in the way power is accrued and influence is exercised by individual teachers.

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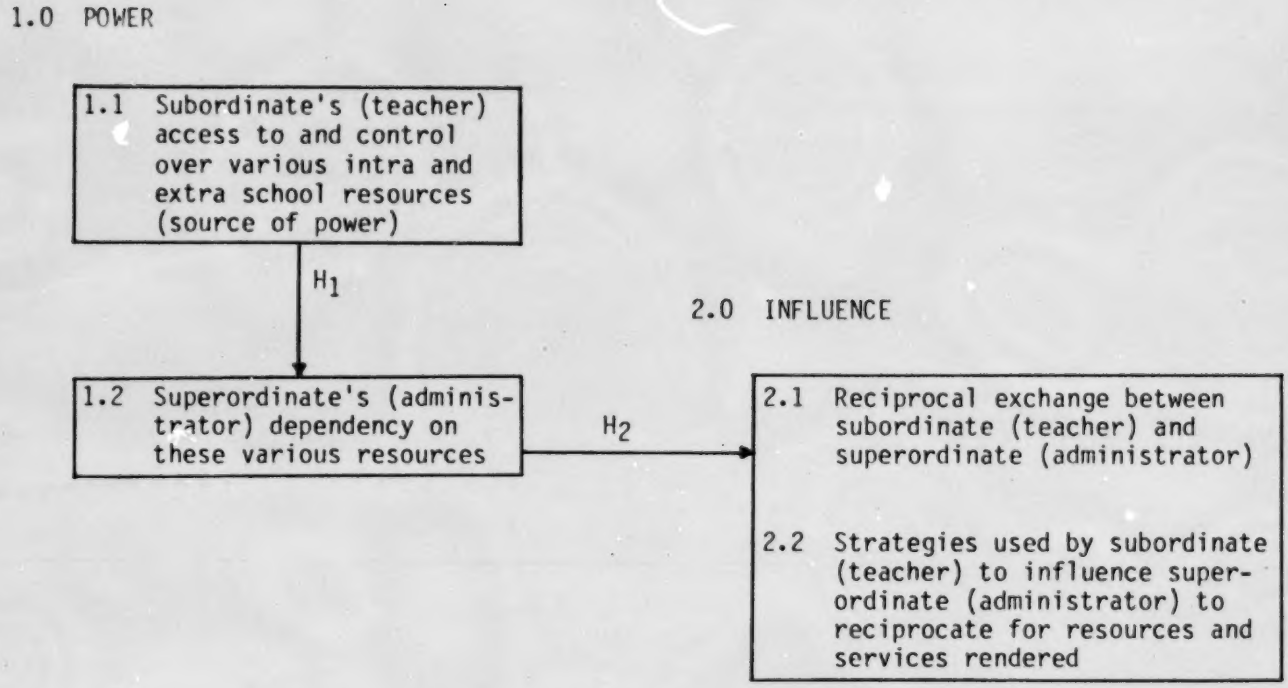
1.0 POWER
1.1 Subordinate's (teacher) access to and control over various intra and extra school resources (source of power)
$H_1$
1.2 Superordinate's (administrator) dependency on these various resources
$H_2$
2.0 INFLUENCE
2.1 Reciprocal exchange between subordinate (teacher) and superordinate (administrator)
2.2 Strategies used by subordinate (teacher) to influence superordinate (administrator) to reciprocate for resources and services rendered

Figure 1. Model representing the power, sources of power, dependencies, and influence of the subordinate, as represented by the teacher, over the superordinate, as represented by the administrator.

Table 1

Average Number of Administrators and Other Staff Members Dependent on Powerful (Group 1) and Non-Powerful (Group 2) Teachers*

| School | Group | n | Years | Admin. Dependency | | | Tchr. Dependency | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | Per | Info | Matls | Per | Infor | Matls |
| A | 1 | 5 | 4.4 | .8 | .4 | 0 | 15.8 | 24.2 | 16 |
| | 2 | 5 | 4.4 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 6.4 | 5.2 |
| B | 1 | 5 | 2.8 | 2 | 2 | 1.6 | 37.2 | 41.6 | 38 |
| | 2 | 5 | 3.0 | 0 | .8 | .4 | 6.4 | 6.8 | 4.4 |
| C | 1 | 6 | 9.2 | 2.8 | 4 | 2.2 | 19.5 | 27.5 | 16.7 |
| | 2 | 6 | 8.8 | .3 | .7 | 0 | 6.5 | 13.2 | 7 |

* Calculations are based only on those matched-pairs of teachers who returned Questionnaire II

Table 2

Comparisons Between Group 1 and 2 Teachers for Total Scores on the Resource Access Portion of Questionnaire II

| School | Group | n | Mean | Std. Dev. | t-value | Significance* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| A | 1 | 5 | 32.6 | 4.4 | 3.8 | sign (.01) |
| | 2 | 5 | 42.6 | 1.9 | | |
| B | 1 | 4 | 22.5 | 2.1 | 6.2 | sign (.005) |
| | 2 | 4 | 45.7 | 7.9 | | |
| C | 1 | 6 | 30.2 | 10.0 | 2.3 | sign (.05) |
| | 2 | 6 | 42.8 | 6.8 | | |
| Combined A,B,C | 1 | 15 | 28.9 | 7.9 | 5.2 | sign (.001) |
| | 2 | 15 | 43.5 | 6.2 | | |

* significance level set at .10

Table 3

Comparisons Between Group 1 and 2 Teachers for Subscores on the Resource Access Portion of Questionnaire II

| | | | Persons | | | Information | | | Material Resources | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| School | Group | n | $\bar{x}$ | t-value | sign* | $\bar{x}$ | t-value | sign* | $\bar{x}$ | t-value | sign* |
| A | 1 | 5 | 12.4 | 1.9 | sign (.10) | 10.8 | 4.5 | sign (.01) | 9.4 | 1.2 | not sign |
| | 2 | 5 | 14.6 | | | 17.0 | | | 11.0 | | |
| B | 1 | 4 | 8.2 | 4.4 | sign (.025) | 8.5 | 6.3 | sign (.005) | 5.7 | 6.1 | sign (.005) |
| | 2 | 4 | 17.0 | | | 17.2 | | | 11.5 | | |
| C | 1 | 6 | 11.3 | 2.3 | sign (.05) | 11.3 | 1.9 | sign (.10) | 7.5 | 2.5 | sign (.05) |
| | 2 | 6 | 16.3 | | | 15.7 | | | 10.8 | | |
| A,B,C | 1 | 15 | 10.9 | 4.2 | sign (.001) | 10.4 | 5.5 | sign (.001) | 7.7 | 3.8 | sign (.005) |
| | 2 | 15 | 15.9 | | | 16.5 | | | 11.1 | | |

* significance level set at .10

Table 4

Comparisons Between Group 1 and 2 Teachers for the Sense of Power Portion of Questionnaire II

| School | Group | n | Mean | Std. Dev. | t-value | Significance* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| A | 1 | 5 | 24.0 | 3.9 | 1.7 | sign (.10) |
| | 2 | 5 | 17.4 | 5.8 | | |
| B | 1 | 5 | 27.0 | 1.9 | 7.1 | sign (.005) |
| | 2 | 5 | 18.2 | 2.4 | | |
| C | 1 | 6 | 21.8 | 2.4 | 1.3 | not sign |
| | 2 | 6 | 19.5 | 3.3 | | |
| A,B,C | 1 | 16 | 24.1 | 3.5 | 3.7 | sign (.005) |
| | 2 | 16 | 18.4 | 4.1 | | |

* significance level set at .10

Note. There are 16 total matched pairs here as compared to 15 for the first portion of Questionnaire II, since one respondent from School B only completed this second portion of the questionnaire.

Table 5

Average Number of Administrators and Subordinates Dependent on Department Chairpersons and Other Teachers

| | | School A | | School B | | School C | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Chair (n=14) | Others (n=52) | Chair (n=14) | Others (n=118) | Chair (n=14) | Others (n=60) |
| Persons | Admin. | .6 | .1 | 1.8 | 1.1 | 1.9 | 1.0 |
| | Subs. | 11.1 | 4.9 | 24.8 | 10.9 | 14.3 | 7.8 |
| Information | Admin. | .1 | .1 | 2.0 | 1.8 | 2.6 | 1.2 |
| | Subs. | 14.3 | 7.8 | 29.5 | 12.9 | 22.1 | 13.5 |
| Material Resources | Admin. | 0 | 0 | 1.3 | 1.0 | 1.2 | .4 |
| | Subs. | 12.1 | 5.0 | 28.7 | 9.8 | 14.9 | 7.7 |

Table 6

Average Number of Committees Served on by Teachers Who Are and Are Not Depended on by Administrators

| | Administrator Dependency on Teachers For: | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Persons | | | | Information | | | | Material Resources | | | |
| | Are | | Are Not | | Are | | Are Not | | Are | | Are Not | |
| School | n | $\bar{x}$ | n | $\bar{x}$ | n | $\bar{x}$ | n | $\bar{x}$ | n | $\bar{x}$ | n | $\bar{x}$ |
| A | 9 | .8 | 35 | .3 | 6 | .5 | 38 | .4 | 0 | 0 | 44 | .4 |
| B | 92 | 1.0 | 14 | .4 | 105 | .9 | 1 | 0 | 94 | .9 | 12 | .7 |
| C | 44 | .9 | 18 | .6 | 49 | .9 | 13 | .5 | 20 | 1.1 | 42 | .7 |